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/1 cont./ The latter put together his remarks under the attractive title, "The Ethnographer's Laboratory."

In this introduction only an attempt can be made to present the author's own difficulties and experiences.

121 The object of the investigation was the rural community of the Makassarese and Buginese.

Initially, before the Second World War, the task was to give an account of the adat law of South Celebes. It has been impossible to carry out this instruction. The material gathered was lost during the war. Only parts of chapters that were ready and had been sent to Jakarta were rescued. The plan concerning adat law, nevertheless, still finds expression in the paragraphs about large landownership, polygamous marriage, and, in the third section of the last chapter, that about marriage by flight. This plan therefore determined the manner in which this investigation was begun.

/2/ It very soon became apparent that a choice would have 114 to be made with respect to the kind of description of adat law that was to be achieved. Two very different types of publication are to be found in the literature dealing with adat law. Both types are designed to support the judge in his task of administering justice according to adat law. In the first category, which is most clearly represented in the work of Vergouwen (1), the

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1. J.C. Vergouwen, Het rechtsleven der Toba-Bataks /The Legal Usage of the Toba-Batak/, 1933.

investigator starts out from the idea that the judge is not acquainted with the community in which he has to administer justice. Accordingly, the author first tries to give information about the community's structure and then to describe the content of the

114 /2 cont./ The conception was as strange as it was grand. It was, however, only imaginable in a period when juridical and judicial work had to be carried out in a community completely unknown to the judges. Ethnographic material was therefore gathered by jurists or by juridically schooled officials of the Inland Administration /3/ and incorporated into the given juridical system. In view of the fact that this system was given and the ethnographic material lay at hand, it speaks for itself that their publications were always constructed on this combination. They remained, however, primarily descriptions of milieu providing a welcome prop for the strange judge in his task of administering justice in a community unknown to him. But they were not ethnological studies satisfying the demands of the profession, nor sociological legal studies, nor normative legal ones.

The prop appeared to be insufficient for the judges, however. The norms according to which the judge had to pass judgment appeared not to be clearly discernible in these descriptions. Another mode of presentation was accordingly looked for. In this, Soepomo led the field. He recorded various legal cases which had taken place in the kampongs with their solutions, and on this he based his conclusions, which he presented in the form of legal rules easily manipulated by the judge. In these publications, therefore, an acquaintance with the community's structure on the part of the judges was assumed, however unconscious it might be. Here the objection is that the interaction of conflicting norms, to be found in every community but especially in those where a great number of changes take place within a short period of time, does not become clearly apparent. The judge lacks the data to assess what this interaction is. The latter can be demonstrated to him only by an analysis of the community's structure.

● 121 At the outset of my investigation of adat law, I chose the Vergouwen type /of approach/, and I did so more unconsciously than on the basis of an analysis of the two methods. The notion

121 /3 cont./ of an investigation into the driving forces of Makassarese-Buginese culture was always present as a companion motivation for the work on adat law, because, as it was then formulated, the law cannot be understood without a knowledge of the society in which it operates.

After the war, in 1948, when the problem of how the latent knowledge of this culture could be made productive was considered, the decision was made to give a description of its structure. To this end an investigation of an area already [114] familiar to me from before the war was carried out for six weeks during June and July of both 1948 and 1949.

If the presentation of a structural description is regarded as the task /4/ of the investigator, then it is necessary to give his theoretical schooling. The latter was determined by the lectures of de Josselin de Jong at Leiden and was later developed further by studying Linton's work.

121 114 It appears impossible to treat as a separate factor the third aspect, namely the investigator's personal attitude. This would amount to an analysis of his personality. However, the disadvantage that personal attitude inevitably entails so long as just one investigator is describing a community was always strongly felt by me. I gladly give support to Wagley when he agrees with the Chinese sociologist Li An-Che, who declares that an area study of China "must be executed with the cooperation of Western and Chinese scholars, and that for an understanding of American society we should call upon non-American -- even non-Western -- students as well as upon our own" (1) /cited in

1. Pamphlet No. 6 published by the Social Science Research Council, New York, 1948, p. 7.

English/.

161 000 The Makassarese and the Buginese at the present time number almost four million people. For hundreds of years they have

212 For hundreds of years they have
/4 cont./ had their own script and their own literature. The
181 element of strong seclusion is absent in their rural communities, with the exception, perhaps, of a number of thinly populated mountain regions.

114 In the fairly extensive literature one finds a great number of topics dealt with separately, but no comprehensive treatment. The best insight is still given by Kooreman (2). A more recent

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2. P. J. Kooreman, "De feitelijke toestand in het gouvernementsgebied van Celebes en Onderhoorigheden /The Actual State of Affairs in the Government Region of Celebes and Its Dependencies/" Indische Gids, 1883.

important study is that by Friedericy (3).

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3. H. J. Friedericy, "De Standen bij de Boegineezen en Makassaren /Status among the Buginese and Makassarese/" Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Ned. Indië, 1933, Part 90, Vol. IV, pp. 447-602.

[602]

With several authors one repeatedly finds the statement
121 that kinship is regarded as of great importance by Buginese and Makassarese without any further elaboration of this point. The approximation of a community by way of kinship relationships has generally been accepted as correct by ethnologists since Rivers (4). Therefore, my attention first turned to this

4. W. H. R. Rivers, "The Genealogical Method of Anthropological Inquiry," The Sociological Review, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff., 1910.

●121 /4 cont. /topic. The kinship terminology served as a starting point for this purpose.

/5/ Choice of Working Area

123 631 565 The stranger who intends to carry out an "adat investigation" in South Celebes -- and all ethnological investigations, those concerned with adat law as well as sociological and similar investigations, are so termed by the Makassarese and the Buginese themselves -- first comes in contact with the prince of the province /Landschap/ or with the head of the adat community where he wishes to work. One may not bypass the prince and his kin group /familie/, the nobility, at least not without incurring great difficulties later on. For the consequence of failing to obtain his consent to work in a certain kampong in his domain is that one loses the much needed good will of a large part of his subjects who might otherwise become good informants. Ignoring him is more than just discourtesy; it is an action which, from the point of view of the prince, expresses hostility. A highly placed stranger -- and that, after all, includes every investigator -- is a potential center of power to whom those who might be less favorably inclined toward the prince might be drawn and thereby constitutes a danger for the latter.

123 565 671 Adat investigation among ordinary kampong people is further suspect because, according to the prince and his kinsmen, the little man has no adat, just as, according to the Dutch bourgeoisie of half a century ago, the people had no manners. For a man of the nobility, adat is just that which distinguishes him from the people; his adat is the real one.

123 Here at the same time the danger that threatens one who would begin an investigation with the nobility becomes apparent. He loses the opportunity to obtain an insight into the relationship between high and low, as seen from the standpoint of the latter. Only after I had expressly declared that it was precisely [121] the adat of the common people that I wished to study, because Mr. Friedericy had already described that of the prince, was it agreed that I should live elsewhere.

121 [631] /5 cont./ The head of the adat community of Borongloë, one of the approximately ten adat communities which formed the province of Goa, was to be my host. I was able to agree to the choice of this adat community of around 14, 000 individuals, since the location in relation to Macassar was favorable; since the head was an energetic young man who made a pleasant impression on /6/ me and who, moreover, knew Dutch, a circumstance which could only facilitate the first contact; and finally, since, as soon became apparent to me, in this region there were no special vexations or corruptions, which frequently create an atmosphere hindering an investigation.

123 The investigator who has found a place to live in the kampong can henceforth avoid the old "adat experts" with great ease. As elsewhere in Indonesia, they constitute a barrier between the investigator and the object of his investigation.

[15] My host was a figure full of vitality who could not possible sit at home for any length of time and who preferred to roam through his domain, talking everywhere, settling things, and [621] drinking coffee. His roving nature had the advantage that I was introduced to many houses of all 14 kampongs of the adat community in the most pleasant way imaginable and thus received a rough general view of what went on. It had the disadvantage that there could be no question of regular daily conversations of any length concerning the facts observed by myself.

At his house I became acquainted with the manner in which this headman's kin group /familie/ treated its servants and other underlings, and I received a first insight into Makassarese kin group /familie/ and nuclear family /gezin/ relationships. Not till then did the important position that the group of relatives /ver wantengroep/ occupies in Makassarese life among those of higher as well as of low /social status/ become clear to me. Therefore, not until then was it possible to attempt a closer analysis and to look around for a group of relatives that could be considered for this purpose.

● 121 /6 cont./ My choice of a group in kampong Bontoramba (1)

[621] 1. One of the 14 kampongs that form the adat community of Borongloë.

was mainly determined by three factors. in the first place this group seemed to display a great amount of cohesion; it had already repeatedly become apparent to me that members of this group were married to each other. In the second place, the kampong head, a prominent man in this group, had seemed favorably disposed toward me on a number of occasions. Thirdly, one of my best informants was married to the daughter of that [115] head. And, finally, the kampong was located so that, compared with many of the others, it was within easy reach.

In writing up data it had become evident to me earlier that 121 indefinite quantitative adjectives had to be called in repeatedly 125 to describe /7/ relationships without the picture of the related group becoming clear at the same time; the "many" unmarried women, the "few" divorces, the "regular" occurrence of marriages by flight, and the "frequent" marriages of members of the same generation, all these statements are, in the end, not very meaningful. A kampong survey in which attention was paid to all these points seemed to be the best method of obtaining a clearer insight into a great variety of relationships. The first survey took place as early as 1940. However, the material was lost. Not until 1948 did the opportunity present itself to repeat the survey. A kampong territory has fixed boundaries, and since neither the worship of ornaments, the grouping of statuses, nor, finally, kin relationship offered a foothold, I chose this territorial unit as the starting point for further research.

125 The registration took place from house to house and was carried out on the basis of the following questions: 1. the names of the inhabitants of the house; 2. their mutual kin relationship; 3. their place of birth; 4. their kin relationship to the head

125 /7 cont./ of the kampong. In case someone was not related to the Kapala or his wife, it was established whether he was related to a certain Mangenre, who, as soon became evident to me, occupied a central position in a group of relatives of around 100 Buginese. If this did not appear to be the case either, I looked for kinship connections with neighboring houses. In this way a first general view of the size of the groups of relatives in one kampong territory came into focus.

July 1, 1948 was chosen as the date for the survey.

125 166 In further analysis of the data it appeared that the mobility which had already been noted for the adat community head and which actually was regarded as a troublesome quality by him personally was a trait occurring generally in Makassarese society. This mobility, however, was not reflected in the original figures. For this reason a second survey was carried out a year after the first one. At this time the names of the occupants of the houses were noted down again, and, in cases where there was a divergence from the compilation of the previous year, the reason that led to migration was ascertained and the place where the immigrant had come from and to which the emigrant had gone were noted down.

In so doing, I considered as immigrants those who entered the kampong, and as emigrants those who /8/ left it. Finally, those who changed houses within the kampong in the course of the year were registered as transmigrants.

● 124 The investigation of the related group thus led to a further investigation into a particular quality of the group: its mobility. This mobility ultimately led to an investigation into the migration of the Makassarese into Buginese country and on some aspects concerning the life of such colonists.

[36] [62] Living Conditions

123 Kampong Bontoramba is an hour from Macassar by bicycle across an asphalt motor road. A stay in the kampong therefore can neither be compared with one on a remote island nor with

/14 cont./ method the material remains limited to the answers written down and the entire responsibility for an adequate picture rests with these answers.

The first method has the advantage over the second one of furnishing quick results (1). It is therefore preferable in

1. See E.E. Evans-Pritchard, Social Anthropology, Inaugural Address, Oxford, 1948, p. 7: "...an intensive study of a single primitive society takes about ten years" /cited in English/. This is the period of time, at any rate, set for a beginner!

those cases where it can be pursued without damage being done to the reliability of the results.

The mutual relationship of the two methods has not yet been fully evaluated, however. In the investigation in South Celebes, the latter method has been followed.

In so doing, it appeared impossible to give an exhaustive description of the culture. Only a few aspects could be illuminated.

Nor did it seem possible to give an "objective" description. Time and again a choice had to be made from the mass of facts, and in this choice there lies a subjective element.

The initial object of this work to present a cultural description has been adhered to up to the end. With an eye to future investigations, the question may be raised however whether it would not be more in accordance with factual procedure to first set oneself a definite problem and subsequently to explore how this problem was worked out in a certain community. The responsibility of the writer for the choice of his facts and their ordering is thereby in no way reduced. Evans-Pritchard has already given a positive answer to this question (2).

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/157 cont./ thinking that they are really women, they are dressed half as man and half as woman. Their general exterior is more feminine than masculine. They imitate women in the use of make-up, they wear their hair like women, and veil themselves.

So much for the account given by Lane. The correspondence with the Masri dance described above seems clear. However, why this dance spread to South Celebes just around 1928 remains obscure.

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The data given above invite a number of observations. As a starting point, I want to take the conclusions of Kinsey and his associates concerning homosexuality. They call the "homosexual" an important subelement of sexual activity, "primarily because it is an expression of capacities that are basic in the human animal" (3).

3. Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, Sexual Behavior in the Human Male, Philadelphia and London, 1948, p. 666.

Furthermore, I want to make use of the proposition established by Margaret Mead (4). She speaks of the social

4. M. Mead, Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies, London, 1935. See among others, pp. XX ff.

personalities of the two sexes, to which men and women in a certain culture are reared to conform, with more or less success. Among other things, she points to the fact that not all men possess to an equal degree the qualities which are

121 /157 cont./ demanded of them in a certain culture, and that
838 therefore there are among them those "who have voluntarily given up the struggle to conform to the masculine role and who wore female attire and followed the occupations of a woman."

It appears that in Makassarese society a number of male
838 individuals at an early age turn away from those of their own sex and attach themselves to the girls. They adapt themselves to these /158 in clothing and behavior. The older ones accept [illegible] that they are different from other boys. When they get [illegible] they continue in their attitude. This entails certain [illegible]ces with respect to their sexual life.

Sexual contact with their female peers is regarded as out of the question. A kawe kawe is accepted as a matter of course into the group of women. If a kawe kawe comes from outside and is not yet known, then the men and old women at first watch him carefully, so I was told. In case of sexual contact with a woman, the kawe kawe is, among other things, threatened with expulsion from the group of women. Consequently, he would have to spend his time regularly in the group of men where he does not feel at home emotionally. It is possible that this fact restrains him from attempting sexual contacts with one of the women. To satisfy his sexual needs, he is therefore dependent on men.

I am not acquainted with any cases of men who became kawe kawe after they had passed puberty. The social separation of the sexes at that time may already be too great for the transition to be regarded as still possible.

838 One does find the phenomenon that men at the courts
793 partly dress and behave like women, in an institutionalized
644 way, for the ornament ritual. The possibility of the kawe kawe to be both man as well as woman -- in social life --, is here an imperative.

A kawe kawe tied to this institution is called a bissu. Even a "normal" married man seems to be capable of being